

## SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD McPHERSON,  
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 5, 1862.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. McPHERSON, of Pennsylvania, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: If I know the chief and cherished purposes of the gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. VOORHEES,] and the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. VALLANDIGHAM,] and have discerned the spirit which pervades the speeches of the former and the address of the caucus of the unhappy fourteen,\* drafted by the latter, they are to undermine the confidence of the people in the President and his administration, and to persuade, or cajole, or frighten them from a firm, cordial, and immovable support of his coercive war policy to the suppression of rebellion, the subjugation of rebels, and the restoration of the authority of the Government over every acre of its soil. I understand them to seek to effect this purpose by assailing the general conduct of affairs; by charging extravagance, recklessness, and corruption upon the administration; by predicting the early bankruptcy of the Government, and by inflaming the public with unfounded and exaggerated assertions, and absurd and unsound predictions. I understand them further, while lamenting the present condition of the country, and foreshadowing a darker future, to offer to the people one ray of hope, assuring them that the only escape from present and prospective calamities is in the elevation to power of a new political party which they are forming, of which they are, if not the architects, the master-spirits, and which they commend as an infallible panacea.

### THE NATURE OF THE ATTACKS.

Mr. Chairman, I accept the controversy

\* Since the Address was first printed, the name of Hon. Nehemiah Perry, of New Jersey, has been added, making the number of signers fifteen.

tendered by these gentlemen. I defend the President and his acts. I deny the charges of extravagance and corruption. I repel the prediction of impending or actual bankruptcy. I scout the ridiculous estimates upon which these charges are based; and I reprobate as unwise, unnecessary, and unwarranted, the organization of a new party, based on opposition to the President and his policy, while I condemn the spirit of the movement, and pronounce its declared principles enfeebling and destroying. I claim for the administration that it is not only worthy of, but is justly entitled to, the unreserved and generous confidence of the people, and of every man of the people, who is devoted to the preservation and perpetuation of the Union as the greatest political good, without which all other interests, rights, and possessions are comparatively valueless.

### THEIR UNFITNESS AT THIS PERIOD.

Sir, I do not wonder that the gentlemen referred to, realize that their self-appointed task is as ungracious as it is hopeless. No rotundity of speech; no pompous or repeated protestations of pure, and lofty, and unselfish purpose; no self-delusions, can drive from the public the conviction that such a work, at such a time, is in the highest degree unfit, unwelcome, and unworthy. They are themselves not insensible to these considerations, for, feeling them, they both seek to justify their course by arguing that it does not involve infidelity to their Government, and by broadly asserting that, *in a certain sense*, they will sustain it against all foes at home or abroad. "*In a certain sense!*" What a world of meaning is comprehended in this qualifying clause. How suggestive of danger to those engaged—of warning to those sought to be enticed.

Mr. Chairman, I will not trust myself to

discuss the motives of gentlemen. It does not become this place to cast, or attempt to cast, a suspicion upon any one's loyalty, or a stain upon any one's patriotism. Least of all should I thus assail a member of the American Congress, of whom, the suspicion of even a shade of disloyalty, is an imputation of guiltiness equal to any and every crime. But in times of great public danger, when savage foes have banded for the overthrow of the Government, the extinction of American nationality, and the degradation of free institutions, and when armed hosts, inflamed with hate, possessed by demoniac passions, and brutalized by slavery, are pointing their gleaming bayonets at the nation's heart, and cleaving down the sons of our pride, is it not, to say the least, inopportune, that those whose great responsibility it is to meet these grave events, and save our matchless institutions, must withdraw themselves from these duties to protect their reputation from the fierce warfare of partisan malignity? But the friends of this administration make no pleas, and seek to escape no responsibility. They are willing to meet its enemies, at all times, on all points, and as firmly and courageously as they have met the armed enemies of the country. And they will bury both in the common, dishonored grave which the people will dig.

Now to the charges.

#### THE SIZE OF THE DEBT.

*First.* It is asserted that the national debt is already one thousand millions. The subjoined official statement of the Secretary of the Treasury, sent to this House, shows that it was as follows on the 29th May, 1862:

<i>Under what act.</i>	<i>Rate of interest.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Loans 1842.....	6	\$2,883,364 11	
Loans 1847.....	6	9,415,250 00	
Loans 1848.....	6	8,908,341 80	
Loans 1858.....	5	20,000,000 00	
Loans 1860.....	5	7,022,000 00	
Loans 1861.....	6	18,415,000 00	
Texan indemnity.	5	3,461,000 00	
			\$70,104,955 91
Treasury notes issued prior to 1857, interest stopped.....		105,111 64	
Under act Dec. 23, 1857, interest stopped.....		175,900 00	
Under act Dec. 17, 1860, interest stopped.....		221,650 00	
Under acts June 22, 1860, and Feb. and Mar. 1861.....	6	2,767,900 00	
Under acts Mar. 2, July 17, and Aug. 5, 1861.....	6	111,600 00	
			3,382,161 64
Three years' 7-3 bonds.....	7 3-10	120,523,450 00	
Twenty years' bonds.....	6	50,000,000 00	
			170,523,450 00
Oregon war debt.	6	878,450 00	
U. S. notes, no int.			145,830,000 00

<i>Under what act.</i>	<i>Rate of interest.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Certificates of indebtedness.....	6	47,199,000 00	
5-20 yrs. bonds....	6	2,699,400 00	
			49,898,400 00
4 per cent. temporary loan.....	4	5,913,042 21	
5 per cent. temporary loan.....	5	44,865,524 35	
			50,778,566 56
Total amount of public debt.....			\$491,448,984 11
Average rate of interest paid on the entire debt is 4 354-1000ths per annum.			

Of the debt, \$74,253,967 55 are a legacy from Buchanan; that due to the war is \$417,195,016 56.

The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] fixed the sum at \$1,095,000,000, which he arrived at in this way: Having heard the chairman of the Ways and Means [Mr. STEVENS] say during the winter that our daily expenses were then \$3,000,000, he *assumed* that they had been \$3,000,000 per day for the whole of the past year, and that, hence, the debt at present is \$1,095,000,000, or 365 times \$3,000,000. Having by this *assumptive* process created an immense debt, he, with refreshing confidence in his arithmetic, added the comprehensive remark, that "no intelligent and candid person" will deny that our indebtedness at this moment is equal to that vast sum. The gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. VALLANDIGHAM,] in his address, contents himself with the naked assertion, not giving any evidence or decrying those who deny it. In truth, they are both wrong on this important point, over five hundred millions of dollars. The gentleman from Indiana plumes himself on the discovery that the Secretary of the Treasury was mistaken about \$25,000,000 in his estimate of the revenue from duties the current fiscal year. Wherein has he the advantage of the Secretary? At most, the Secretary erred twenty-five millions in an estimate of an uncertain trade at a most unsettled period. The gentleman from Indiana, who cannot excuse this, erred to the extent of five hundred millions in the statement of an ascertained fact.

#### THE DEBT A YEAR HENCE.

*Second.* It is further asserted that our debt one year hence, if the war should continue, will be two thousand millions. This estimate is based upon the other estimate, that the Government will spend, the whole of the next year, at the average rate of \$3,000,000 per day. This is an egregious blunder. The average daily expenditure in the War and Navy Departments is less than one million of dollars, and the average daily expenditure in all branches of the Government is a shade over one million. So that, upon the basis of present operations, the public debt, one year hence, will not exceed \$1,000,000,000, show-



ing an error in this statement of the gentleman from Indiana, of one thousand millions. He proceeds upon the false assumption that we now are, and will henceforth spend three millions daily. The gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. VALLANDIGHAN,] in his address, says the "daily expenditures are at the rate of four millions of dollars." The difference between these two false prophets is about the true sum.

This point is settled by the official statement of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the well-ascertained average daily expenditure as shown on the books of the Treasury.

As to the probable amount of debt a year hence, there is another method of reaching it, viz: by consulting the appropriations asked by the various departments for the operations of the fiscal year just closing, as well as that soon to commence. These figures have been furnished by the gentleman from Vermont, [Mr. MORRILL,] and are to this effect:

The appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1862, were.....	\$586,000,000
The appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1863.....	544,082,000

Total appropriations for the two fiscal years \$1,130,082,000

That is, if all the money estimated for and appropriated shall be expended, the public indebtedness will be, by June 30, 1863, should the war be continued on the present basis, eleven hundred and thirty millions; in which event the amount will be eight hundred and seventy millions less than the prediction of the gentleman from Indiana. In his apparent anxiety to swell the sum, and sustain his estimates, he supposes that, owing to the increased expenses of transportation, growing out of an invasion of the enemy's country, our expenditures will be proportionately heavier next year than this, forgetting that our army is now supplied with arms, equipments, tents, and all the *matériel* of war, which need not be soon replaced, and that the cost of recruiting, organizing, preparing, and bringing this large army into the field, need not be repeated, both which causes will greatly diminish expenses. Besides, he is in error in supposing that we cannot subsist the army to any extent on the enemy. They cannot, if they would, destroy everything. Already we have successfully subsisted portions of the army in that way, and it can be continued, at least to some extent. General Scott pursued a flying enemy, and from the time he left Jalapa in Mexico he laid the country under contribution for subsistence. Why cannot we in the rebellious region?

#### CHARGE OF "FINANCIAL MISMANAGEMENT."

*Third.* The gentleman from Indiana creates alarming figures by comparing the debt, at his figures, with the assessed value of the real and personal property of the country, as shown by the census of 1860, forgetting that

these assessments are, on an average, one-half under the market value; that his statement of the amount of the public debt is double the actual indebtedness, and that our annual productions would support a debt of four thousand millions (\$4,000,000,000) without involving as heavy taxation as exists in England. Our debt a year hence will scarcely exceed one-fourth of the ready capacity of the people to bear. In this connection the gentleman from Indiana charges that the debt is due to "the financial mismanagement and fraud of the party in power," and he grows pensive over the minute and careful calculation that every sixth ox, every sixth horse, every sixth sheep, and every sixth hog, in all his district, is doomed, in cold blood, to be charmed, belimed, and swallowed by the horrid monster begotten by this war!

But what is meant by "financial mismanagement?" Wherein has it occurred, and by whom? Is it in the amount borrowed? I have shown, it is one-half less than he asserted, and a mere trifle compared with the resources of the country. Is it in the rate at which it was borrowed? Why, Buchanan borrowed at from 12 to 36 per cent. in time of peace; this administration has not paid over 7.30 per cent. for any, has paid 6 for part, is paying 5 and even 4, and, including the circulation it has furnished, constituting the best currency we have ever had, the average rate of interest on the whole debt is a little below  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Is it in the persons from whom borrowed? The patriotic banks were first approached, and after them the people rushed forward, and the bonds are all held at home, and by all classes of society, and are in active demand above par. Is it disagreeable to the gentleman that this debt is held at home, that the Government is thereby strengthened, and the world convinced of our ability to wage the war, and our determination to achieve success? Was it "financial mismanagement" in the Secretary to husband the resources of the Government, uphold its credit, protect its securities, and guard the Treasury at every point? Or should Mr. Chase have imitated the devices of Cobb, who studiously depreciated the public securities, undermined the public credit, and then threw the bonds on the market to bring what they might amid the fangs of sharpers? Unjust, intolerable, and atrocious as were many parts of the speech of the gentleman from Indiana, that was the most inexplicable and unnatural which ignored the patient care, clear intelligence, and anxious fidelity of the able and sagacious head of the Treasury, one of the wise and pure men of the West. I can understand why the wondrously successful conduct of our finances, the sinews of our war, has called forth wailing from the London *Times* and the money-changers of England, and groans from disappointed and malicious haters of the Government, both in and beyond



the loyal States, yet I cannot but think that, while in this problem lay the question of the determination of the contest, its happy solution deserved to be, as it was, the occasion of heartfelt and general rejoicing and congratulation among the earnest men of the country. The two leaders of the proposed new party, raising a discordant sound, call even this great success *mismanagement*. Surely their perceptions are wholly perverted, though their hearts may be devoted to the Government, as they claim, "in a certain sense."

#### COMPARISON OF EXPENSES WITH MEXICAN WAR.

*Fourth.* The gentleman from Indiana further declares—with emphasis and particularity, that—

"The Mexican war, though a foreign and distant one in which we paid the soldier substantially the same that we pay him now, cost this Government, under the wise and honest administration of James K. Polk, in proportion to the number of men engaged, man for man, but little more than one fourth the amount now being expended on a war waged at our very door-steps."

This is a most extraordinary statement, and as indefensible as extraordinary. Leaving out of view the unqualified endorsement of Mr. Polk's administration, whose policy, to say the least, initiated the present complications of the country, and without which it might have for many years avoided, if not wholly escaped, the present rebellion; and overlooking the allusion to the Mexican war, the waging of which I have for years believed, and now more firmly than ever, was prompted by men who then had in view the development, *through it*, of the infernal conspiracy which has lately burst upon us, and whose cold sagacity but too accurately measured the influences then and thus made active, I meet the substantive assertions of the proposition with a flat denial.

Let us see how the case stands.

#### DIFFERENCE OF PAY.

In comparing the two wars, the gentleman from Indiana states that "we then paid the soldier substantially the same that we now pay him." This is matter of history, and easily tested. What is the fact? *Then* we paid infantry seven dollars per month, and cavalry eight. *Now* we pay infantry thirteen dollars per month, and cavalry fourteen. Since that time, the pay of commissioned officers has been increased twenty dollars per month, and ten cents has been added to the commutation-value of the ration—making an average increase of the compensation of officers, of between twenty and twenty five per cent. We also, at the extra session of July last, changed the soldier's ration, and increased its cost about one fourth. When, in view of such facts, the gentleman from Indiana said the pay now is *substantially* what it was then, did he merely illustrate his idea of "*substantial sameness*,"

of which we have had several like illustrations, and will have more, or did he speak rashly, sweepingly, and, as in other cases, in ignorance or disregard of the truth?

#### OTHER IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS.

There are several other manifest considerations which enter into this comparison made by the gentleman from Indiana, but to which he has wholly neglected to allude or give mention. When the Mexican war broke out, the Government had on hand immense supplies of guns, small arms, and all munitions of war—the accumulation of years of peace. When this rebellion broke out, the Government was bare of everything necessary to make war. In the Pensacola and Norfolk Navy Yards it lost its largest collections of heavy guns. In the arsenals and forts located in the disloyal States, to which Floyd had removed many thousands of the best patterns of muskets and rifles, the rebels found, whilst the Government lost, vast stores of the greatest value; and Government was compelled to abandon and destroy its largest armory to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. As a consequence, Government was wholly unprepared to fill the demands of the occasion. It could not quickly equip and arm the hundreds of thousands who were ready to flock to its standards; and it was forced into European markets to supply itself with articles of prime necessity. Foreign manufacturers, taking advantage of our necessities, controlled prices to their great benefit; and, further to cripple, unfriendly governments interposed to embarrass and delay the shipment of our purchases. This great Army was literally created, and the urgency of the circumstances and our defenceless condition subjected us to every sort of annoyance and imposition. But for all this, the administration of President Lincoln is in no wise responsible. And it lies not in the mouth of the gentleman from Indiana to rebuke it, if in recovering itself from the slough in which Buchanan's base administration left the Government, heavy expenses were incurred, mistakes made, or even frauds committed. All these things were more or less inevitable from the condition of the country. The gentleman from Indiana intimates that his political friends would have conducted the Government more honestly and economically. I think their past history does not at all justify this flattering opinion; and I know that some of the frauds of which the gentleman has complained, and some smaller ones of which he does not particularly speak, were perpetrated, or attempted to be perpetrated, by persons of his political faith. Those who remember the Buchanan administration and its horrid malpractices, will not regret that its friends are now out of power—whether reference be had to the safety of the treasury, or, what is even more important, their doubtful and halting fidelity to the great duties of the hour. But, in addition to

the facts previously mentioned, it must be remembered that many of the oldest and most skillful and valuable heads of bureaus resigned and went South, and new men occupied their places, to struggle with all the risks accruing upon heavy responsibility suddenly devolved. If the country suffered from this cause, this Administration is not responsible—rather those Administrations which nursed traitors in high places, which systematically excluded true men from posts of honor and importance, and which thus trained men under the Government, into an efficiency which fitted them to strike the heaviest blows and inflict the deepest wounds.

#### THE ACTUAL FIGURES.

But, coming to the distinct allegation, I deny that the proportionate expenses per man were, during the Mexican war, little more than one-fourth the amount now expended per man. I can find no warrant for this statement, but the reverse. I take as the test, the year of greatest activity—that which witnessed the capture of the city of Mexico, and all its antecedent victories. If the gentleman will examine the war report of Mr. Marcy, dated December 2, 1847, (Ex. Doc., 1st sess., 30th Cong., 2d vol., p. 45), he will find the strength of the Army thus stated :

Regulars .....	21,509
Volunteers .....	22,027
Total.....	43,536

The expenditures for the year ending June 30, 1847, are stated in the documents accompanying the President's Message of December, 1847, to have been

Army proper.....	\$17,880,842 91
Mexican hostilities .....	16,001,226 42
Armories, Arsenals, and Munitions of war, .....	1,617,216 28
	\$35,499,285 61

Or, to state it differently, the expenses of the Army from April 1, 1847, to April 1, 1848, as subsequently shown by Secretary of the Treasury Meredith, (Ex. Doc., 1st sess., 31st Congress, 2d vol.), were \$34,981,160 55.

The average annual expense per man was thus \$815 40, although General Scott subsisted on the enemy beyond Jalapa. The average monthly expense per man was \$67 95.

From October 1, 1861, to May 22, 1862, a period of about eight months, the expenditures of the War Department, as shown by the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. DAWES), were \$305,118,208, at the average rate of \$38,114,776 per month. Upon the basis of having had 575,000 men under pay for that entire period, the average monthly expense per man has been \$66 28. If we estimate the number at 500,000, the average monthly expense per man rises to \$76 28. Instead of the comparison being favorable to our Mexican experience, it is the reverse; and we have a general result which, notwithstanding the

peculiar embarrassments of the Government and the unprecedented nakedness of every form of supplies, is the best and most satisfactory evidence of the fidelity, integrity, and prudence with which the public interests have been guarded. All this, too, although the wider field of our operations and greater activity of our armies add to the necessary expenditures an indefinite but considerable percentage. War is, of course, expensive; and in the multiplicity of officials and the nature of their business, there will doubtless be some infidelity; but I believe the present management is securing as rigid accountability and faithful expenditure as can be expected or is usually secured by governments.

#### CHARGES OF "FRAUD."

I know, Mr. Chairman, we have had a great outcry about immense frauds; but if all be true as asserted, they bear a very feeble relation to the entire operations, and they are, and have been, most grossly exaggerated. The gentleman from Indiana declaims as loudly on this subject as any one I have heard; and yet he points out very little. I will enumerate his specifications.

He complains of the purchase of stores in New York by Alex. Cummings, and says that a "large sum was lost." I doubt whether in the worst view, \$5,000 were lost by Government in that affair, and not a cent by the fraud of any one. A few inferior articles were bought, which are not serviceable, but this is perfectly consistent with the integrity of the parties, as the investigating committee say, and is due to the haste with which, under pressure of peril to the Capitol, the commissions were executed.

He next complains of General Cameron's contracts for guns, all of which a commission, composed of Hon. Joseph Holt of Kentucky, David Davis of Illinois, and Hon. R. Dale Owen of Indiana, have revised. An abstract of their report has been given to the public. *Not a word goes to show that the Government has lost a cent by them.*

He next complains of General Fremont's extravagance, by which he says \$550,000 were spent in the erection of forts at St. Louis, the building of a pontoon bridge at Paducah, the construction of railroad cars, the purchase of forage, and the like. Most of these were legitimate objects of expenditure. It is not stated what proportion of the whole sum was wasted, for we have only general allegations, which are usually safe, besides being convenient. It is certain, the charge carries less than it appears.

His last specification is the connection of Geo. D. Morgan with the purchase of vessels for the navy, in which his commissions reached \$70,000. I disapproved of the act of the Secretary in employing a civilian on such duty, at that time, and with that form of com-



pensation, and I voted for the resolution of censure on that ground. I do not know that excessive prices were paid for the vessels, and I believe that the purchases were more fairly and honestly made than were those under Buchanan for the Paraguay expedition.

These are the only items on which the mountain of declamation is based. Analyzed, they sink to insignificance. To be sure, he quotes vague opinions and rash declarations from two or three Senators and Representatives; but they are worth nothing, are not based upon evidence, and represent nothing but the excited fancies of their authors. I wish it understood that the fustian of the gentleman from Indiana about the corruption of the Administration rests on a few petty items, all occurring near the outbreak of the rebellion, and in a period of alarm and excitement such as has never been witnessed in this country; that not one of them has been clearly proved fraudulent; and that all of them can be explained as, for the most part, occurring through the error, inexperience, or ignorance of new employes or agents. What else could be expected, under the tremendous pressure of the great events which transpired in April, May, and the early summer of 1861, when the very life of the nation was in instant peril, and the most prodigious efforts were put forth to save it? Whoever expects the accuracy, method, and security of ordinary transactions amid such scenes and in the presence of such dangers, is either fearfully ignorant of practical affairs, or unreasoningly exacting. Whatever frauds are now attempted, the Administration and its friends will use every effort to prevent or correct, and they will do all in their power to punish the fraudulent, indifferent whether the blows fall upon friends or foes. Upon this, all good men are united.

#### PREDICTIONS OF FUTURE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE.

Here ends the chapter of fact, as painted by the gentleman from Indiana; leaving which, he disports with even greater freshness in the domains of fancy. We have seen how disguising and distorting have been his versions of past events. How much richer and rosier are his fervid inventions, we will see hereafter.

Having shown how large the debt is and will be, he proceeds to narrate what sums the people will *annually* pay, making it up in four grand items:

Interest on public debt, (which he considers "a very low estimate").....	\$100,000,000
Ordinary expenses of Government.....	150,000,000
Pensions, (which, he says, "no well-informed person will pretend will be less" than).....	100,000,000
Margin for claims, contingent expenses, &c.	50,000,000
Grand total.....	\$400,000,000

Of course this is fabulous and preposterous. The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr.

DAWES) has shown its utter groundlessness. The estimate of interest is thrice as large as it will be, if the debt be not swelled much beyond present size. It is twice as large as it will be, if the debt should reach one thousand millions, for he calculates upon a much higher rate of interest than Government is paying or will pay, and a much larger debt than it has or will have. As to his estimate of ordinary expenses, it is one-third too high. There is no reason why they should exceed one hundred millions, upon the cessation of hostilities. They are more likely to be less than greater. His estimate for pensions (\$100,000,000) is absurd beyond all comparison. He says he meant to include the bounty of \$100 to soldiers in it; but that is not part of our *annual* payment, for Government does not propose to give the bounty more than once. The gentleman from Massachusetts allowed \$24,000,000 for pensions per annum. The pension bureau estimate the sum at \$6,000,000, and our pension committee at \$8,000,000, per annum. The gentleman from Indiana is sixteen times beyond the one, and twelve beyond the other.

A margin of \$50,000,000 *per annum*, for claims, contingents, and unforeseen expenses, is five times what will be needed.

The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. DAWES) estimates the annual expenses, upon the basis of present debt, at \$201,678,053. Some of his figures are too liberal; but this sum will allow the creation of a considerable sinking fund to pay the debt. Yet his calculations reduce those of the gentleman from Indiana *fifty per cent.* At most, our expenses will not be over one-half the estimate of the gentlemen on the other side. Our tariff will yield an average of \$50,000,000 per annum,\* thus further reducing the direct burthens of the people. Sir, I know that taxes are unwelcome, and tax-gatherers rarely received with pleasure. But when the people of the loyal States remember that this is the purchase-money for their freedom, the security of their property, the safety of themselves and families, and the preservation of the unity of this people and the vigor of this Government; when they further remember that all these precious rights and interests have been put in jeopardy by a base and wicked band of conspirators, who have long plotted and labored, with infernal hate and supernal skill; that whilst plotting against the Government, they were, by the connivance of deceitful Presidents and treacherous Secretaries, actually filling its high offices; that by these agencies they organized a most formidable rebellion, having meanwhile strengthened themselves to resist every form of attack, and weakened the power of the Government to protect itself and suppress them; that, by

\*In illustration of the revenue from this source upon the revival of business, it may be stated that the receipts from duties on imports, in May, were \$6,222,405 68.



herculean efforts, all these devices and preparations have been reduced to naught; and that, by the overwhelming power of an aroused free people, their country has been saved—they will, disregarding the alarms of the timid, the predictions of the croaking, the machinations of the unworthy, and the blandishments of the ambitious, manfully meet all the responsibilities which these events may cast upon them. Not only will they, as good citizens, sustain their Government by the prompt payment of their taxes, but they will suspiciously watch every man who suggests reasons why they should shirk their duties, avoid their obligations, and bring discredit on the nation. Sir, who anticipates the reverse result, knows nothing of the American character. Let caucuses meet, addresses be written, speeches be made, and intrigues be begun and carried on. They will not avail to seduce our citizens from their fidelity. They will do no more than separate the true men from the false, and will knit the former into a firmer and more invincible phalanx.

#### HEAVY FREIGHTS.

I might stop here; but the gentleman from Indiana makes other complaints which, though not germane, demand notice. One is, that "it costs sixty cents to freight a bushel of corn from the Wabash river to New York, and leaves from seven to fourteen cents to the farmer"—a terrible extortion, which the Administration did not commit, and for the correction of which I respectfully refer the gentleman to his two distinguished political friends from New York, members of this House, who are believed to be closely connected with the management of railroads which compose part of the line from the Wabash to New York. I do not know through what other agency he will as speedily liberate his constituents from this oppression.

#### THE MORRILL TARIFF.

Respecting the other complaint, referring to the Morrill tariff, wherein he denounces it as interfering with his right to buy where he can buy cheapest, and as benefiting only the manufacturers of New England and the iron-mongers of Pennsylvania, I desire to ask him what would be the present condition of the country, if, carrying out his theory, turning ourselves into producers of raw materials, and opening our markets to unrestricted or scarcely restricted trade with the immense, concentrated, ever-aggrandizing capital of Europe, we had become, as we inevitably would have become, as dependent upon Europe as the South has been upon the North—as little self-sustaining and self-reliant.—Would we have escaped insult, injury, intervention? Let the gentleman consider the position of Mexico, and answer.

What is so powerful a protection as *power*? Would the gentleman have his country safe?

Then must she be strong. How can she be strong without the exercise which comes from the development of all the elements of strength within her? The narrow theory of the gentleman looks not beyond to-day—anticipates not the contingencies which affect national existence, and provides not for them. It would provincialize his country; repress ambition, invention, and progress; crush out every distinctive feature of the American character, paralyze energy, and fit us for the yoke which our masters, the capitalists of Europe, would quickly prepare for us. Call you this *statesmanship*? God forbid that an American legislature should ever so think.

#### THE IRON INTEREST.

Not only does the gentleman oppose this self-protecting and self-progressing system, but he flings especially at the "iron-mongers of Pennsylvania." Sir, this is the very madness of the moon.

What is iron, that the gentleman reprobates the growth of its manufacture? It is a national necessity. Without it, we cannot defend our harbors from a foe, our commercial cities from bombardment, or our long sea-coast from ravages at every point. Without it, we cannot hold the forts upon which millions have been spent, or protect our commerce, whitening every sea. Without it, this Capitol is insecure, and untenable against easy attack. Without it, we cannot maintain our position among the Powers of the world, much less grow in influence and importance. It is as completely essential to national life, as is the bread we eat to our physical life. It is not enough that we have inexhaustible supplies of the ore, limestone, and coal. We must have the product in the highest form of manufacture—in the most advanced condition in which ingenuity and skill, mind and machinery, capital and labor, have been able to place it. We cannot have these necessary conditions fulfilled unless the Government, by legislation, fosters and leads it up to the highest point required, at least, as generously, steadily, and appreciatively as rival Governments have fostered and are fostering theirs. Had the theory of the gentleman from Indiana prevailed in former years, when advocated with persistence, if not with wisdom, we would this day be at the mercy of our enemies. Containing within ourselves everything necessary to protect us from a world in arms, we would be in the humiliating position of inability to defend our institutions, assert our rights, and save the continent from being parceled out among the monarchs of Europe, or reduced to colonial subjection. Recent events have betrayed the real feeling of Europe towards us. He who in the light of them, recommends a policy whose effect would be to place us in its gripe, carries his theories to the very verge of treason. For no truly patriotic person would have this country dependent upon Europe for

any essential of defense or any means of offense.

#### EFFECTS OF THE REBELLION.

This rebellion, atrocious as it is, will bear many good fruits. One will be to forever dispose of those specious theories which have weakened the Government, and were the foundation on which Secession rests. Another, to explode those false doctrines of political economy, which, forgetting the nature of man, and ignoring the ambition of nations, the clashing of interests, the temptations of power, and the allurements of weakness, would regulate our legislation by delusive notions of the benefits of unrestricted trade among all nations, rather than by the safer standard of regard for our own interests, and self-protection as well against the covert assaults of foreign trade as the open assaults of foreign enmity.

Because the address of the caucus of the unhappy fourteen, practically adopts the specious theories which are the life's breath of Secession, and places its signers upon the high road to denationalization and disunion, I reprobate them as enfeebling and destroying. Because the doctrines of the speeches of the gentleman from Indiana would chain the country to European aristocracy and wealth, would keep it chained, and shut it out from the magnificent destiny which awaits us, if we be true to ourselves, mindful of our powers, and careful

of our resources, I repudiate them, and call upon the people to disown and frown upon both as inimical to their prosperity, independence, and freedom.

#### POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT.

Least of all will the attacks of these gentlemen impair the position of the President, who, beginning his administration in the darkest and most troublous period of our history, has overcome prejudices, won respect, and secured admiration, at home and abroad, by unfaltering and single-minded devotion to duty. The cares of his great office have not confused him; its patronage has not corrupted him; its brilliancy has not dazzled him. Self-poised, he has steadily controlled the current of events—with fortitude bearing reverses, with calmness enjoying successes, with manliness meeting all. Pure in heart, no one can assail his integrity, and the people love him. Great in mind, he grasps, in all its parts, the momentous present, and the people admire him. Brave in spirit, he advances to great deeds, and the people applaud him. Rarely are so great and fitting qualities combined. They who seek to undermine and overthrow him, will themselves be crushed. Rather let them cease their needless warfare, become useful instead of mischievous, patriotic instead of factious.